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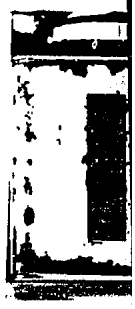

COUNTRY	Rumania	DATE OF INFORMATION	1951 - 1952
SUBJECT	Economic - Agriculture, collectivization Political - Party agitation		
HOW PUBLISHED	Daily newspapers; monthly periodicals	DATE DIST. 25	Nov 1952
WHERE PUBLISHED	Bucharest	NO. OF PAGES	20
DATE PUBLISHED	Nov 1951 - 3 Jun 1952		
LANGUAGE	Rumanian	SUPPLEMENT TO REPORT NO.	

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SOURCE Newspapers and periodicals as indicated.

RUMANIAN 1952 COLLECTIVIZATION CAMPAIGN

INTRODUCTION

An intensive winter collectivization campaign, called for by Gheorghiu-Dej in November 1951, was prominently featured in the Rumanian press from January to mid-May 1952. Communist organizations in rural areas participated in the campaign, and efforts were made to win the "free consent" of the peasantry in the organization of collectives.

The drive underwent two phases. From 1 January to 20 February the press and Communist organizations called for the organization in the RPR (Rumanian People's Republic) of collectives of the Soviet kolkhoz type. Weekly meetings were organized, teams of agitators made house-to-house canvases, cultural chambers were used for propaganda. On 21 February, the emphasis of the campaign suddenly changed, as seen by a Scanteia article of that date calling for the formation of TOZ, rather than of collectives as previously. The TOZ is a loose association of peasants formed for common plowing of the land, as promulgated in Decree 66 of the Council of Ministers dated 25 January 1952. The TOZ are of two types, temporary and formed for one season only, or permanent. This is the most rudimentary step in the collectivization process since private ownership of land and tools is retained. In effect, the TOZ is little more than a cooperative contract between a group of independent peasants and an MTS for plowing of individual parcels of land. This shift in party tactics may have been an attempt to draw a reluctant peasantry into collectivization while allowing private ownership. It also suggests that a more moderate objective was adopted because collectivization had not proceeded as planned.

From the beginning of April to 20 May the collectivization campaign gradually yielded to the spring planting drive, and the number of articles on TOZ and collectives declined rapidly. There were scattered indications of failures in collectivization in some areas, but the press gave a general impression of continued and successful collectivization.

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The next important mention of collectivization occurred on 3 June. Ana Pauker had been in charge of collectivization and presumably headed the winter drive. However, Scanteia of 3 June 1952 reported that she was deprived of this responsibility for "deviations" from the party line in agriculture. She was declared guilty of neglect in the establishment of new collectives, and was accused of tolerating kulaks, a chief target of the collectivization campaign. In addition, she was accused of violating the rule of "free consent," according to which peasants could not be forced to join collectives.

This report gives information on principles of collectivization as stated by Gheorghiu-Dej, various phases of the collectivization campaign, formation of collectives and TOZ, difficulties in collectivization, and crop yields per hectare achieved by collectives and TOZ. Data is from Scanteia, organ of the PMR (Rumanian Workers' Party), which was covered for the period 1 January - 3 June 1952 for the report, and from various periodicals as indicated.

I. GHEORGHIU-DEJ'S PRINCIPLES FOR COLLECTIVIZATION

Two articles appearing in Probleme Economice in November 1951 ("Agricultural Collectives," by Hillel Kohn, Alex. Undi, and Marton Cristai, and "A Transformation in Rumanian Agriculture Under the Leadership of the Party," by V. Vaida) declared that Gheorghiu-Dej considered the economic consolidation of collectives to be one of the chief tasks of the PMR. Kohn Undi, and Cristai quoted Gheorghiu-Dej as stating that while collectives were numerically few in the RPR, they were the chief instrument by which socialization of agriculture would be brought about, and that the final victory of socialism in Rumania depended on winning the struggle for collectivization. Scanteia further highlighted the party's interest in collectivization by declaring on 22 February 1952 that "agricultural collectives occupy a role of honor in the national economy."

Propaganda Campaign Emphasizing Soviet and Rumanian Successes in Collectivization

Both articles from Probleme Economice emphasized that Gheorghiu-Dej felt the need for an extensive propaganda campaign among the peasantry. This campaign was to stress the great achievements of Soviet kolkhozes and the success of Soviet work and organizational methods. It was to emphasize the successes of Rumanian collectives, agricultural associations, state farms, and MTS in order to convince the peasant masses of the superiority of socialist agriculture and thus bring about the establishment of collective farms with their free consent. The party's task, as stated by Gheorghiu-Dej, was as follows: "The party is faced with the task of carrying out the policy formulated by its Central Committee, of fighting for a stable alliance with the middle strata of the peasant class and leading these peasants slowly along the road to socialism. In this it must be guided by the Leninist dictum: 'Rely on the poor peasants, ally yourself with the middle strata of the peasantry, carry on relentlessly the fight against the kulaks.'"

Importance of Free Consent

According to V. Vaida, in the article mentioned above, Gheorghiu-Dej had repeatedly emphasized the necessity of observing the principle of free consent in organizing collective farms. He had stated that the only method to be used in the struggle for convincing the peasantry was the use of specific examples of the advantages offered by collective farms. Vaida mentioned that party directives were actually violated in areas such as Trei Scaune, Tarnava-Mica, Alba, Valcea,

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and Arges, where extravagant promises were given and pressure exerted on the peasantry to make them join collectives, and that Georghiu-Dej had stated that all competition designed to bring about spectacular results, all pressures exerted on the peasantry for speeding up collectivization were detrimental to the cause of socialism and could only weaken the alliance between workers and peasants. "Thus," Vaida added, "we see the extreme significance which our party and Gheorghiu-Dej attach to free consent as a result of inner conviction on the part of the peasantry."

Kulak Problem

As for the kulak problem, Vaida wrote that "the socialist transformation of agriculture infuriates the kulaks and their supporters, the Ango-American imperialists." He declared that kulaks discredit and sabotage agricultural collectivization because it weakens their strength in the villages and because it prevents them from exploiting the peasants. He quoted Gheorghiu-Dej as stating that "the kulak is doing his very best to prevent the establishment of collective farms, to prevent his isolation from the poor and middle strata of the peasantry, because he is aware that agricultural collectivization will ruin him."

The definition of a kulak given by Scanteia on 13 December 1951 -- a kulak is one who refuses to collectivize his land, who refuses to enter the party, or who still possesses private property, -- is of interest in that it seems to permit designation as a kulak of any peasant in a village who refuses to join a TOZ or collective and wishes to continue individual ownership. Thus, the line between coercion and free consent would seem to be a very fine one. Evidence of this is Scanteia's descriptions of the actual collectivization process during the winter campaign. First, according to Scanteia, local Communists organized an initiative committee. This committee called for an agitation campaign. Then an organizational committee was formed. Prominent local Communists called a meeting of all peasants and proposed the formation of a collective. Generally several peasants spoke against the idea. These were at once publicly designated as kulaks. This appeared to silence any other objections, and the TOZ or collective was then organized with "free consent." Scanteia spoke approvingly of such a procedure in articles appearing on 17 February, 20 February, 21 February, 1 March, 9 March, and 28 March.

On 3 January, Scanteia declared that kulaks were discovered in many villages in Cluj Region. Their property was confiscated and those who "unmasked" them were rewarded with 25 percent of the agricultural products found concealed on their property. This procedure was followed in Calarasi when kulak Petru Crisan, owner of 14.39 hectares, was discovered concealing 1,590 kilograms of wheat and 2,530 kilograms of corn.

Scanteia reported on 5 January, that the collection of agricultural products in Radu Negru, Calarasi Rayon, was below plan requirements because of the efforts of kulaks. Party organizations "closed their eyes" to this situation and failed to punish 30 who did not deliver quotas. As a matter of fact, local party officials were either related to the kulaks or were old friends. Instead of standing out as shining examples in the fight against saboteurs, rayon and even regional committee members committed serious errors.

In Arpasul de Jos, in Sibiu Region, Scanteia reported on the same day, trials were held against kulaks. Working peasants testified against the kulaks, unmasking their plots which had resulted in failure to meet quotas and failure to produce from the land the amount required of them.

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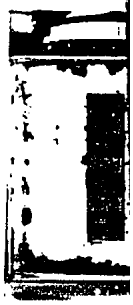

On 17 February, Scanteia declared that many medium peasants were so impressed by the agitation campaign that they themselves became strong agitators against kulaks. In Celaru, Victor Cinca went against the party line by not favoring the establishment of a collective and consequently was excluded from the party. In Draghanicani, efforts to form collectives were blocked by kulaks.

After 20 February, more frequent and vehement attacks on kulaks appeared. On that date, Scanteia of 20 February reported that in Maracesti the "plots of kulaks Stan Buzea and Dobre Buzea were in vain," and a permanent TOZ was planned. On 21 February, Scanteia advised party organizations and people's councils to unmask the lies and plots of kulaks who seek to prevent the peasants from uniting in TOZ. On 1 March, the paper described the intense agitation campaign in Husi Rayon. The campaign was actively opposed by kulaks Gh. I. Manolache, who was the son of a kulak owning 20 hectares, Lucian I. Nestian, and others who sought to prevent collectivization. On 9 March, Scanteia reported the "unmasking" of various kulaks during the expansion of a collective in Boian. On 20 March, an article explained how kulaks were receiving fair and just treatment.

On 27 March, Scanteia reported that constant vigilance was maintained against kulaks in Cuza-Voda. One kulak, Nicolae Paraschiv, was discovered in the collective in Dragalina and expelled. After that, work proceeded smoothly.

On 28 March, it was reported that the local Communists in Fleva had formed an organizational committee for the creation of a collective. Their first act was to unmask kulaks Toma Ghita and Ioana Teodorescu, who spoke against the formation of a collective in the community.

On 29 March, Scanteia described what can happen where there is a lack of vigilance against kulaks, as follows: In Castranova, Dolj Region, 35 kulaks owning from 18 hectares to 50 yokes of land were "reduced to medium peasants overnight." That is, local authorities designated them as "medium peasants," even though they were automatically classed as kulaks by virtue of their large holdings. This constituted a gross violation of the resolution of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the PMR of 3 - 5 March 1949. The local council and primary party organizations aided class enemies through personal friendship. The local council designated the kulaks as medium peasants and gave them an unjust share of the agricultural production which should have gone to the state. Thus, for example, kulak Dumitru Dinca received 1,884 liters of milk, 914 kilograms of beans, 555 kilograms of peas, 130 kilograms of sunflower seed, and other products. Kulaks Ion Baluta, Dutu I. Popa, Ion Cotora, and others also obtained large rewards which they used for speculation. A meeting of 1,000 members of primary party organizations led to the unmasking of Constantin M. Badea and Constantin Ivan Badea, who had aided these kulaks. Constantin Ivan Badea had been vice-president of the executive committee of the People's Council of Castranova. This failure of the rayon committee to educate the primary party organs in "revolutionary vigilance" was classed as a deviation from the party line.

On 9 May, Scanteia carried another article against kulaks.

II. AGITATION CAMPAIGN FOR THE FORMATION OF COLLECTIVES

As early as November 1951, Vaida in Probleme Economice had quoted Gheorghiu-Dej as calling for an intensive propaganda campaign among the peasantry. Such a campaign was prominently featured in Scanteia after 1 January 1952. Seventy-seven articles dealing or connected with the campaign appeared in this newspaper in the first 3 months of 1952; the number decreased in frequency in April and May.

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Methods used in the campaign included the publicizing of lists of new collectives, agitation, education, political-organizational work, and the description of model Soviet and Rumanian collectives to show the superiority of collectives over private ownerships.

A. Progress of the Campaign from 1 January to 20 February 1952

In this first period of the campaign the main emphasis was on the formation of "collectives" or "collective farms" patterned on Soviet kolkhozes. Thirty-six articles on collectivization appeared in Scanteia from 1 January to 20 February.

Many of the articles dealing with agriculture in the first half of January were devoted to praise of Soviet collectivization. On 3 January, Scanteia discussed radio courses broadcast in Craiova on methods used in Soviet agricultural collectives. A 4 January article described "basic work" in Ianca to persuade peasants to form a collective. On 5 January there was a discussion of a pamphlet translated from the Russian which showed the successes of a typical Soviet kolkhoz in which the members live in happiness and prosperity. It was stated that Rumanian peasants can attain similar security through collectivization. On 12 January, Scanteia printed eight articles praising Soviet collectivization, giving examples of successes achieved on individual farms. On 14 January, an article appeared praising a Soviet film on collectivization. An article on 15 January explained that agriculture in the People's Democracies is far more advanced than in other countries, because of collectivization. On 16 January, Scanteia criticized the Medias Rayon party committee for not concerning itself with the formation of new collectives.

In the latter half of January the collectivization campaign in the newspapers was largely replaced for a week by the currency reform theme. Again in mid-February the collectivization drive ceased for 3 days, giving way to the launching of the spring planting campaign.

On 15 February an agitation campaign in one area was reported to have convinced 5,000 peasants to form collectives. On 17 February Scanteia discussed "political organizational work for the formation of new agricultural collectives," declaring that agitation for the establishment of new collective farms was the responsibility of primary party organizations. In Caracal this agitation was being carried on by the rayon party committee, by the UTM (Union of Working Youth), the UFDR (Union of Democratic Women), and by ARLUS (Soviet-Rumanian Friendship Society). Agitation and propaganda were so intense that Scanteia designated this a model area. Individual measures for the "education" of the peasantry varied. The organizational bureau of the rayon committee of Caracal organized a 10-day conference to study decrees of the Central Committee of the PMR, issued 3 - 5 March 1949 and 18 September 1951. The conference also studied USSR kolkhozes. The rayon committee analyzed existing collectives in Bicinis and Gostovat and issued directives requiring primary party organizations to apply measures found successful in other areas. Peasants who had visited the USSR gave talks. The UTM and UFDR organized displays and issued pamphlets directed at women and children to show them the advantages of "alliance between peasants and workers." Specialists from people's councils spoke. The rayon committee conducted peasants from Apele Vii, Rotunda, Resca, Celary, and Odaia on visits to collectives in Ciroiu, Draghiceni, Stoenesti, Traian, and other communities in the rayon. They were shown the high standard of living and the efficient manner of organization of collectives. They noted that many collectivists sold their own products for shoes, a radio, or building material. Many medium peasants were so impressed that they spoke ardently in favor of collectives and became strong agitators against kulaks.

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On 19 February Scanteia reported that the Stalin Rayon party committee was carrying on intense political work to convince peasants of the benefits of joining a collective. Peasants were conducted on tours of collectives, and heard speeches by Rumanians who had visited the USSR.

Thus, in the first month and a half of the winter campaign, rayon committees were active in contacting peasants through primary party and other organizations to show them the benefits of collectivization and the high standard of living which they would enjoy on a collective.

B. Progress of the Campaign From 21 February to 30 May

On 21 February 1952 the emphasis of the campaign suddenly changed. Up to this date, as already stated, the main emphasis was on the formation of kolkhoz-type collectives; thereafter, the party called mainly for the formation of TOZ, a modified type of organization in which individual ownership of the land is retained and the land is worked in common with the aid of MTS tractors. The change in emphasis was also marked by an intensified "education" drive after 20 February, more bitter attacks on kulaks, and more frequent criticism of mistakes.

It would appear that a concentrated effort was being made in the earlier period to socialize as much as possible of the arable area in preparation for the spring planting campaign. Had the winter collectivization campaign been as successful as hoped, it would presumably have continued in the same vein.

However, the change to emphasis on the "formation of TOZ on the Soviet model," heralded by Scanteia on 21 February as "an important means for obtaining rich harvests," suggests that the large-scale collectivization planned before the spring planting had not been successful, and that another approach was indicated. In urging the growth of TOZ, to which peasants could be more easily attracted since they lost none of their rights in the process, the regime seemed to be reflecting a fundamental change of tactics, and a partial retreat from its previous position of calling for the surrender of land through the forming of kolkhoz-type collectives.

Reports from Scanteia on the progress of the campaign are as follows:

On 20 February, Scanteia described the "sustained work of education" in Martacesti to persuade peasants to form TOZ.

In the 21 February article Scanteia gave an example of the higher yields obtained on land operated by a TOZ. Party organizations and executive committees of people's councils were called upon to carry out "intensive political work" to convince peasants of the value of organizing according to the Soviet model and according to the collective decree of 18 September 1951. Groups carrying on this "educational work" were advised to give concrete examples of superior harvests and greater income to be derived through the TOZ, and to unmask the plots of kulaks who seek to prevent the peasants from uniting to form TOZ.

On 22 February, Scanteia continued the campaign by saying that primary party organizations should carry on mass political work to persuade each collectivist to fulfill his duties, in return for which the working class would supply him with all his needs. Another article of the same date declared that common working of the land through the TOZ is one of the best means to procure better harvests. Party organizations, people's councils, and MTS in many rayons popularized successes of TOZ in order to persuade peasants to form such organizations.

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On 23 February, according to Scanteia, new TOZ were formed in Constanta Rayon after an intensive campaign by primary party organizations, executive committees of people's councils, and MTS.

On 24 February, Scanteia described the successes of the kolkhoz system in the Moldavian SSR, which has 350 "millionaire collectivists," that is, the sale of their products has brought over one million rubles. According to the article, life on a Moldavian kolkhoz is prosperous and the standard of living is high. Such an article may have been presented to provide the Rumanian reader of Scanteia with a basis of comparison between the achievements of peasants of the former Rumanian province, now under Soviet administration, with those of Rumanian peasants themselves.

Scanteia of 1 March described the winter agitation campaign in detail. In Vutcani, Buei Rayon, agitators were divided into five-to-seven-man teams. The small community was divided into five sectors, each to be contacted by a team. The organizational bureau held weekly meetings at which agitators exchanged experiences. The party gave an evening course for agitators. The cultural chamber held celebrations in honor of collectivization on Sundays and holidays. Lectures on Soviet agriculture and methods were held. At weekly cultural meetings peasants heard translations of Soviet pamphlets. In elementray schools children were taught about the happy life on a collective. The UTM, UFDR, and other organizations carried on educational programs.

On 4 March, Scanteia reported that primary party organizations in Zorleni, led by activists of the Barlad Rayon committee, carried out "intensive education" through the cultural chamber, MTS, and through teams of agitators and organizers who contacted peasants.

On 15 March, an article in the same paper called for intensified political work for the organization of TOZ. On 20 March the paper reported that the number of TOZ for common cultivation of the land was increasing. Agitators of primary party organizations and MTS in Arad had carried on an intense drive which resulted in the formation of TOZ by 400 peasants.

The 23 March issue of Scanteia mentioned the formation of eight new collectives in Constanta Region. Primary party organizations carried on an intensive education campaign during the winter, contacting individual peasants.

On 25 March, the same newspaper reported that primary party organs and people's councils, aided by the rayon committee, carried out "large-scale intensive political work" for the formation of TOZ in Barlad Rayon. Speakers from MTS and agitators painted glowing pictures of the advantages of TOZ and collectives. Independent peasants were pressed to form TOZ. Two hundred peasants who had formed loose TOZ in 1951 were urged by agitators to form more closely connected associations in order to apply new methods and to achieve richer harvests.

On 26 March, an article discussed the collectivization campaign which was pressed in the Bihor Region. Weekly meetings were held in Tinca to analyze and criticize as well as to inform peasants of new techniques. The primary party organization carried on agitation to encourage peasants to participate in the cultural program of lectures on new methods for the spring planting campaign.

On 27 March the newspaper discussed a conference held in Calarasi under the auspices of Scanteia and of the rayon party committee. Volunteer correspondents from collectives and other agricultural organizations were present. Many poor and medium peasants were convinced of the desirability of forming collectives. TOZ members in villages realized the advantages of changing their organizations into true collectives. Speakers explained the superiority of collectives over private ownership. In one community, collectivists achieved more than 660 kilograms of cotton per hectare in 1951, while independent peasants produced only 300.

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The manner in which a new collective is formed was described in a Scanteia article of 28 March. The local Communists in Ramnicul Sarat Rayon formed an organizational committee in the village of Pleva. They suggested to the other peasants the formation of a collective. Toma Ghita and Ioana Teodorescu spoke against the formation of a collective and were declared kulaks. No further objections were encountered and the Secera si Ciocanul (Sickle and Hammer) collective was organized.

At the beginning of April, the agitation campaign dropped off sharply and the space previously devoted to collectivization was given to the spring planting drive. However, scattered articles on collectivization continued to appear. On 5 April, Scanteia spoke of the higher income of collectivists, who are able to sell through cooperatives which provide an easy and lucrative method of selling products and of raising personal income. For example, Mihai Olah sold 1,000 kilograms of corn, Andrei Kovacs 1,350 kilograms of wheat, corn, and rye through cooperatives.

On 15 April, Scanteia again pointed to the "noble" example of Soviet collectivization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF COLLECTIVES AND TOZ

From 1 January to 20 May, Scanteia reported very frequently the formation of new collectives and TOZ. The details of this collectivization may be seen from the following summaries of articles. The numbers and distribution of new collectives and TOZ are given in a statistical listing of data from these articles at the end of this section. This information gives some indication of the over-all collectivization picture in the agricultural sectors of the country.

On 2 January, Scanteia reported that a collective had been formed in Tarzii in 1951. This collective achieved a per-hectare production far in excess of that of individual holdings, despite a drought. Collectivists had 26 oxen, 26 cows, 8 calves, 280 geese, and other animals. The income of each member was high.

On 6 January, the formation of a collective by 22 families in Faurei Region was reported. On 10 January Scanteia stated that hundreds of poor and medium peasants in Braila Region had formed collectives. An 11 January article announced that 77 families had formed a collective in Cogealac in 1951, and that now the members were "prosperous and powerful." The next day the newspaper told of the formation of a collective in Motatei, Dolj Region. Formerly, five families had owned 13,000 hectares, and 1,700 families owned one sixth of the area. Despite the obstructionist efforts of kulaks, however, 54 families succeeded in organizing a collective.

On 13 January Scanteia announced the formation of two new collectives in Timisoara Region. On 15 January a new collective was reported in Buzau Rayon. An article on 16 January stated that 2,000 families of working peasants in Ialomita Region had been attracted to collectivism by the superiority of socialist agriculture over individual ownership; 60 collectives were formed in all. Eighty families in Gheorghe Lazar, Slobozia Rayon, achieved good results in the formation of a collective. In the first half of January 1952 alone, more than 1,000 new members joined collectives, contributing 2,000 hectares of land. In Comanesti 140 families started a collective with 875 hectares of land, 157 horses, 41 cows, 87 wagons, and 60 plows. In Fetesti Rayon 556 peasants formed a collective. In Tandarei, the number of collectivist families rose to 226. In Modelu, Dichiseni, Nicolae Bacescu, Libertatea, and Cuesti, 274 peasants were seeking to form a new collective.

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On 8 February Scanteia described a new collective formed by 80 families in Calarasi Rayon. On 14 February, the paper stated that numerous working peasants had signed up for collectives in Braila as a result of the agitation campaign. The Plavat collective in Ramnicelu now has 225 families as members. In summer 1951, 900 peasants in Braila Rayon formed collectives. Other groups in Oancea, Tudor Vladimirescu, Esna, Desirati, and Morotesti had asked to form new collectives.

The 15 February issue of Scanteia declared that more than 5,000 families in one region sought to form collectives as a result of the winter campaign. In the Caracal area, according to Scanteia on 17 February, the agitation and education campaign encouraged 21 peasants in Traian, 19 in Draghiceni, and 15 in Bucenis to join existing collectives. In Draghiceni, "where the hold of the kulaks was broken," 27 peasants requested a new collective, in Rotunda 16, in Celaru 10, in Resdca 10, in Odaia 11, and in Amarastii de Jos 12. On 19 February Scanteia reported that, as a result of the winter campaign, 44 poor and medium peasants in Micfalau, Zalan, Arcus, and Moacsa had signed up for collectives in January. Peasants from 11 other communities were seeking to form collectives.

The 20 February issue of Scanteia reported that local organizations and the cultural chamber in Martacesti had carried on a drive to convert the local TOZ into a permanent one. Kulaks were attacked with great vigor. As a result, 23 families with 89 hectares applied for a permanent TOZ.

On 23 February, a number of TOZ were reported in Constanta Rayon. In General Scarisoreanu 32 peasants with 242 hectares formed a TOZ. Other TOZ were formed by 67 peasants owning 308 hectares in Major Chiriacescu and by 24 peasants owning 73 hectares in Amzacea.

Scanteia of 29 February reported a new TOZ in Botosani Region formed by 442 families with 500 hectares. In addition, a permanent TOZ was formed in Bratesti. Other TOZ were formed by 47 families in Vaculesti, 41 families in Sendriceni, 45 families in Dracsini, 30 families in Lehnesti, and by a group in Bobicesti.

On 1 March, Scenteia described the formation of a TOZ in Vutcani, Husi Rayon. The TOZ was established by 66 families possessing 340 hectares, 16 teams of oxen, 10 horses, 18 wagons, 28 plows, and 6 harrows.

On 2 March the formation of a new TOZ with 90 members in Tecuci was reported. Furthermore, 245 other peasants favored joining an existing TOZ or establishing a new one.

On 4 March, Scanteia reported that 38 peasants with 69 hectares had formed a permanent TOZ in Zorleni. The next day, the paper stated that there were 100 collectives in the Constanta Region. At the beginning of March, 92 families in Limanul formed a collective with 520 hectares, 5 hectares of irrigable gardens, 47 horses, 22 oxen, 30 plows, 2 cultivators, 18 harrows, and 33 carts. The Limanul collective was the 100th in the Constanta Region. As a result of the winter agitation campaign, 37 families constituting a TOZ in Burila Mare reorganized the TOZ into the Drumul lui Lenin (Lenin's Road) Collective. Another 37 families of a TOZ in Viasu formed a collective.

On 9 March the history of a collective in Boian, Turda Rayon, was told. The collective was formed in 1950 with 63 families, 4 oxen, 2 horses, 3 cows, and 257 hectares. It achieved yields of 600 kilograms of wheat per hectare and 700 kilograms of oats per hectare more than independent peasants. Now the collective has 254 families with more than 800 hectares. A number of kulaks were unmasked during the expansion. On 11 March, Scanteia reported the formation

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of nine collectives in the Constanta Region at Nuntasi, Istria, Calugareni, Sirinul, Haidar, Cornul de Jos, Siminoc, Valea Seaca, and Mangalia. These collectives included 382 families with 2,969.07 hectares, 208 horses, 72 oxen and cattle, 196 wagons, 222 plows, and other equipment. A TOZ of 94 hectares was formed in Episopia, Bihor Region.

On 12 March the formation of a TOZ was reported in Lunca. It consisted of 60 peasants with 30.10 hectares. In Londran 53 families with 22.30 hectares, and in Faurei a group with 65.26 hectares formed TOZ. Scanteia of 13 March reported that, after a strong campaign of agitation and education by primary party organizations in Tulcea Rayon, a TOZ was formed for common working of the land. A contract for the plowing of 1,085.65 hectares was signed with the Mihail Kogaliceanu MTS. Many other communities in the rayon were forming TOZ under the direction of primary party organizations and people's councils. On 14 March Scanteia reported that agitation in Stalin Rayon had been successful. Peasants were convinced by the example of other communities and established TOZ at Cata, Darste, and other communities.

On 20 March, the paper stated that the number of TOZ for common cultivation of the land was increasing. Four hundred peasants in Avram Iancu, Pulis, Santan, Paulis, and other communities formed TOZ. A second article mentioned that 120 peasants had formed a TOZ with 600 hectares in Braila Rayon. Of this area, 350 hectares had been plowed by MTS tractors in 1952. On 21 March, Scanteia reported increased activity in Botosani Rayon, and the formation of a new TOZ.

The 23 March issue reported that eight collectives had been formed in Constanta Region, in Cheia, Cocargeaua, Mircea-Voda, Miristea, Oituz, Saraiu, Tortoman, and Valul-lui-Traian. These collectives included a total of 425 families owning more than 2,800 hectares, 331 horses, 72 oxen, and other animals.

On 25 March, Scanteia described the agitation campaign in Barlad Rayon. Three collectives were formed in Crivesti by 155 members of a TOZ. Other collectives were formed by 38 peasants with 100 hectares in Salceni and by 40 peasants with 88 hectares in Oberseni. In all, 425 peasants with 850 hectares formed collectives.

On 26 March, collectives were reported in the Ialomita Region in Coslogeni, Libertatea, Jegalia, Brosteni, Milosesti, Ograda, Cunesti, and Dineni. In addition, 1,869 families formed TOZ with 4,081 hectares.

On 27 March, it was reported that 100 families in Dragos-Voda had joined the already existing Victoria collective. The 1 Mai collective in Cuza-Voda, established in 1950 with 56 families, increased to 138.

On 28 March, Scanteia stated that an intensive educational political drive in Arad Region had resulted in the formation of 34 TOZ with 1,273 families owning 3,888 hectares. Lipova Rayon led with 14 TOZ, Arad Rayon had 9 TOZ, and Cris Rayon 8. The entire village of Ususau, including 229 families, formed a TOZ with 650 hectares. In Fleva, Ramnicul Sarat Rayon, the Secera si Ciocanul collective was organized with 151 hectares.

On 29 March, Scanteia mentioned that 32 peasants had formed a TOZ in Brodina, Radauti Rayon. On 6 April, Scanteia reported that peasants in Slatina, Costesti, and Caesti in Arges Region, Piatra-Sat and Slatiora in Slantina Rayon, Falfina, Brosteni, and Ionesti in Costesti Rayon formed TOZ when they became convinced by speech and example of the advantages of collectivization. A second article stated that primary party organizations in Baneasa and Razoarele had carried out "large-scale agitation" for the formation of TOZ. In consequence, 57 peasants united 234 hectares for common working with MTS tractors.

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Scanteia reported on 9 April, that the TOZ in Dragueni had expanded to 83 families, and on 10 April, that a new collective had been formed in Negru Voda, Constanta Rayon, where 65 families pooled 458 hectares. On 11 April the newspaper described the successes of new collectives in the USSR. On 12 April, it announced the formation of a new collective with 217 families owning 731 hectares in Ianca. The People's Council of Calafat, directed by the regional party committee, intensified educational work which led to the formation of a collective with 32 families operating 42 hectares.

On 19 April, Scanteia asserted that the newly formed collective in Tichilesti was not successful because of the lack of experience of its members, and called upon the rayon party committee for aid.

On 20 April, Scanteia stated that 41 permanent collectives had been formed by 1,280 families in Barlad Region in 1951. In spring 1952 eight communities, Tanacu, Fundeanu, Fataciuni, Carja, Popeni, Ulea, Vutcani, and Genesti, held meetings under the auspices of party committees to discuss new collectives.

Scanteia announced on 22 April that 200 families in Macin had formed a collective with 220 hectares. On 8 May, an article revealed that 1,000 families in various parts of the RPR were in the process of forming 25 new collectives. In Constanta Region 12 new ones were being formed, in addition to the 137 already in existence. Four new collectives were formed on 4 May in Timisoara Region. More than 1,000 peasants participated in the ceremonies. Ninety-nine families in Cacalz named their collective Nikos Belogiannis. Hungarian, German, and Rumanian peasants founded a collective in Ghiroda Veche; at the ceremonies they exposed kulak Ion Bogdan, owner of 40 hectares, as a plotter and saboteur. In May, five collectives were formed in Arges Region, three in Mures Region, and one in Celary, Dolj Region.

The following table summarizes the above data on collectives and TOZ from Scanteia and gives additional data, marked by an asterisk (*) from Lupta de Clasa, November - December 1951, or by two asterisks (**), from an article by E. Jiano, "TOZ, Necessary Form of Cooperation in the Socialist Transformation of Agriculture," in Probleme Economice, April 1952. /For additional information from the latter article, see 00-W-24078./ The data is presented by regions of Rumania, chronologically within each region. The collectives and TOZ were newly formed, unless otherwise indicated.

Region, Rayon, or Town	No and Type	Date Reported	Membership	Size and Remarks
		ENTIRE COUNTRY*		
Entire country -- total existing	1,083 collectives	Dec 1951	74,438	
Entire country -- total existing	TOZ	Dec 1951	354,000	428,000 ha
		SOUTHEASTERN RUMANIA		
Faurei Region	Collective	6 Jan	22 families	
Braila Region	Collectives	10 Jan	Hundreds of peasants	

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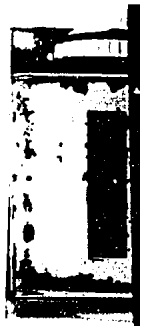

Region, Rayon, or Town	No and Type	Date Reported	Membership	Size and Remarks
Cogealac	Collective	11 Jan	77 families	
Buzau Rayon	Collective	13 Jan		
Ialomita Region	60 collectives	16 Jan	2,000 families	
Gheorghe Lazar Collective			80 families	
Comanesti Collective			140 families	875 ha, 157 horses, 41 cows, 87 wagons, 60 plows
Fetesti Rayon			556 peasants	
Tandarei			226 families	
Modelu, Dichiseni, Nicolae Balcescu, Libertatea, Cuesti	Collective	16 Jan	274 peasants	Sought to form collective
Calarosi Rayon	Collective	8 Feb		
Braila	Collectives	14 Feb	900 peasants	Formed summer 1951
Rammicelu	Collective	14 Feb	225 families	Not newly formed
Caracal Rayon	Collectives	17 Feb		
Traian			21 peasants	Joined existing collective
Draghiceni			19 "	" " "
Bucenis			15 "	" " "
Draghiceni			27 "	Requested collective
Rotunda			16 "	" "
Celaru			10 "	" "
Odaia			11 "	" "
Amarastii de Jos			12 "	" "
Constanta Rayon	TOZ	23 Feb		
General Scarisoreanu			32 peasants	242 ha
Major Chiriacescu			67 "	308 "
Amzacea			24 "	73 "

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Region, Rayon, or Town	No and Type	Date Reported	Membership	Size and Remarks
Tecuci	TOZ	2 Mar	90 peasants	
Zorleni	TOZ	4 Mar	38 peasant.	69 ha
Constanta Region				
Limanul	100th collective in region	5 Mar	92 families	520 ha, 47 horses, 22 oxen, 30 plows, 2 cultivators, 18 harrows, 33 carts
Burila Mare	Collective	5 Mar	37 families	Reorganized from a TOZ
Vissu	Collective	5 Mar	37 families	Reorganized from a TOZ
Turda Rayon				
Boian	Collective	9 Mar	254 families (65 families in 1950)	800 ha; formed in 1950
Constanta Region Nuntasi, Istria, Calugareni, Sirinul, Haidar, Cornul de Jos, Siminoc, Valea Seaca, Mangalia	9 collectives	11 Mar	382 families	2,969.07 ha, 208 horses, 72 oxen and cattle, 196 wagons, 222 plows
Lunca	TOZ	12 Mar	60 peasants	30.1 ha
Londran	TOZ	12 Mar	53 families	22.3 "
Faurei	TOZ	12 Mar		65.26 "
Tulcea Rayon	TOZ	13 Mar		1,085.65 "
Braila Rayon	TOZ	20 Mar	120 peasants	600 "
Constanta Region Valul-lui-Traian, Saraiu, Cocargeaua, Miristea, Tortoman, Mircea-Voda, Oituz, Cheia	8 collectives	23 Mar	425 families	2,800 ha, 331 horses, 72 oxen
Ialomita Region Coslogeni, Libertatea, Jegalia, Brosteni, Milosesti, Ograda, Cunesti, Dineni	Collectives	26 Mar		Not newly formed
Ialomita Region	TOZ	26 Mar	1,869 families	4,081 ha
Dragos-Voda	Collective	27 Mar	100 families	Joined existing collective

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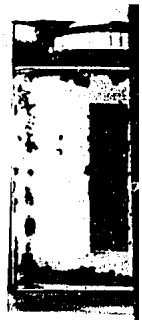

Region, Rayon, or Town	No and Type	Date Reported	Membership	Size and Remarks
Cuza-Voda	Collective	27 Mar	138 families (56 families in 1950)	Formed in 1950
Rammicul Sarat Rayon				
Fleva	Collective	28 Mar		151 ha
Dragusani	TOZ	9 Apr	Expended to 83 families	
Constanta Rayon				
Negru-Voda	Collective	10 Apr	65 families	458 ha
Tichilesti	Collective	19 Apr		
Buzau Region*				
Mires	TOZ	Apr		
Constanta Region	12 collectives being formed; 137 in existence	8 May		
	EASTERN RUMANIA			
Tarzii	Collective	2 Jan		Formed in 1951
Micfalau, Zalan, Arcus, Moacsa	Collectives	19 Feb	44 peasants	Signed up for collectives
Martacesti	TOZ	20 Feb	23 families	69 ha; applied for TOZ
Husi Rayon				
Vutcani	TOZ	1 Mar	66 families	340 ha, 16 teams of oxen, 10 horses, 18 wagons, 28 plows, 6 harrows
Botosani Rayon	TOZ	21 Mar		
Barlad Rayon	Collectives	25 Mar	425 peasants	850 ha
Crivesti	3 collectives		155 members	Formed from a TOZ
Salceni	Collective		38 peasants	100 "
Obarseni	Collective		40 peasants	88 "

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Region, Rayon, or Town	No and Type	Date Reported	Membership	Size and Remarks
Galati Region##	125 TOZ (total in 1951)	Apr	17,400 families	40,209 ha
	150 TOZ (total, end 1951)		42,407 families	94,063 "
	77 new TOZ (spring 1952)		4,199 members	12,019 "
	93 collectives (total in region)			
Neamt Rayon**				
Dumbrava Rosie	TOZ	Apr		
	SOUTHERN RUMANIA			
Dolj Region				
Motatei	Collective	12 Jan	54 families	
Arges Rayon	TOZ	6 Apr		
Costesti, Caesti, Slatina				
Slatina Rayon	TOZ	6 Apr		
Piatra Sat, Slatoria				
Costesti Rayon	TOZ	6 Apr		
Falfina, Brosteni, Ionesti				
Baneasa, Razoarele	TOZ	6 Apr	57 peasants	234 ha
Ianca	Collective	12 Apr	217 families	731 "
Calafat	Collective	12 Apr	32 families	42 "
Sibiu Region**	TOZ	Apr		
Bicarta, Hoghilag, Malucrav, Selus				
	CENTRAL RUMANIA			
Stalin Region	TOZ	14 Mar		
Cata, Darste, and other communities				

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Region, Rayon, or Town	No and Type	Date Reported	Membership	Size and Remarks
Radauti Rayon				
Brodina	TOZ	29 Mar	32 peasants	
	WESTERN RUMANIA			
Timisoara Region	2 collectives	13 Jan		
Episopia, Bihor Region	TOZ	11 Mar		94 ha
Arad Region	TOZ	20 Mar	400 peasants	
Santan, Avram Iancu, Paulis, Pulis, and other communities				
Arad Region	34 TOZ	28 Mar	1,273 families	3,888 ha
Lipova Rayon	14 TOZ			
Arad Rayon	9 TOZ			
Cris Rayon	8 TOZ			
Ususau	TOZ		229 families	650 ha
Timisoara Region	4 collectives	8 May		
Cacalz	Collective		99 families	
Ghiroda Veche	Collective			
Arges Region	5 collectives	8 May		
Mures Region	3 collectives	8 May		
Dolj Region				
Celary	Collective	8 May		
	NORTHERN RUMANIA			
Botosani Region	TOZ	29 Feb	442 families	500 ha
Botosani Region	TOZ	29 Feb		
Braesti				
Vaculesti			47 families	
Sendriceni			41 families	
Dracsini			45 families	
Lehnesti			30 families	
Bobicesti				

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IV. DIFFICULTIES IN COLLECTIVIZATION

There have been occasional indications that collectivization is not proceeding altogether smoothly.

On 6 January, Scanteia stated that party organizations were not carrying on enough agitation. On 16 January, Scanteia reported that the Medias Party Committee had failed to do its job. On 17 January, it was announced that the drive was not successful in Caracal. Although initiative committees had been formed to stimulate organization, they received little support.

On 21 February, the paper stated that no efforts had been made to form TOZ in Balota, Deleni, and Bechet. The proper organizations were making no effort to persuade the peasants of the advantages of collectivization. Local party organizations failed to realize that every effort was required to raise the standard of living. In Cocioc and Urziceni, the MTS failed to urge collectivization. This attitude was termed inadmissible.

A Scanteia article on 22 February discussed the failure of some rayons to carry on organizational work. People's councils had formed a plan for campaigning in Piatra-Sat, Coteana, Slatiora, and other communities, but this plan "was soon forgotten." The plan had called for the establishment of a 600-hectare TOZ in Coteana, for example. However, peasants showed no enthusiasm, because the Recea MTS had failed to fulfill contract obligations for two successive years. No measures were taken to correct this. Party organizations failed to wage an intensive campaign. No drives at all were held in Barcanesti, Izvoarele, and Schitu. In other places no TOZ were established even though requested by the peasants.

On 28 March, Scanteia criticized the Ineu Rayon committee for not concerning itself with agitation for the formation of TOZ and termed it one of the weakest rayons in that respect in Arad Region.

Scanteia reported on 13 May, that the rayon committee in Carlomanesti had failed in its task of persuading temporary TOZ to become permanent. It criticized the committee for not speaking ardently enough against class enemies. Organizers such as Gheorghe Dadanin in Ghidigeni and Nicolae Manole in Ivesti meddled in the administration of existing collectives, instead of trying to organize new ones.

V. PER-HECTARE YIELD ON COLLECTIVES AND TOZ

The chief method of persuasion advocated by Gheorghiu-Dej, as already stated, was to demonstrate the superiority of collectives as shown by their greater harvests, their higher standard of living, and the greater income of individuals. Articles in Scanteia, Probleme Economice, and other periodicals gave statistics on per-hectare yields of various crops in order to show greater production on collectives.

V. Vaida declared in the Probleme Economice article mentioned above, that, on the average, the harvests obtained on collective farms were 25-50 percent higher than those obtained by individual peasants, and that members had correspondingly higher incomes. In addition, working and living conditions were superior, Kohn, Undi, and Cristai, writing in Probleme Economice, also used the figure 25-50 percent. They declared that better results and substantially higher incomes received by members proved the superiority of large-scale collective agriculture using tractors, agricultural machinery, and modern methods.

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The following percentages were offered by the three writers to demonstrate the superior harvests of model collectives over those of individual peasants in the same villages (yields obtained by independent peasants equal 100 percent):

Crop	Collective Farm		
	Insainte	Viata Noua	Aron Gabor
Wheat	143	270	210
Barley	--	550	--
Rye	157	--	197
Oats	141	110	--
Spring vetch	143	--	--
Corn	231	200	220
Sunflower	150	387	--
Beets	170	--	--
Potatoes	--	189	--

The average income of a member of any of these collectives was said to be three times that of the average income of a medium peasant, in the same region.

During the winter campaign, Scanteia published frequent articles on the higher production and income attained by collectivists. For example, on 2 January, the newspaper described the typical income of a collectivist, Ion Barleanu, of the collective in Tarzii, who earned 2,000 kilograms of wheat, more than 1,000 kilograms of corn, 360 kilograms of sunflower seed, fodder beets, hundreds of kilograms of vegetables and other farm products, and, in addition, 40,000 lei. The per-hectare yield of the collective was much higher than that of independent landowners in the area.

On 6 January, Scanteia featured a long article on the great successes achieved by collectives in various areas. In the Bucharest Region they harvested an average of more than 4,700 kilograms of oats per hectare in 1951. On 20 January, the newspaper mentioned the Drumul lui Lenin collective in Livedea, which achieved a yield of 800-1,000 kilograms more per hectare of corn than independent land holders. The products of 22 milk cows, 28 pigs, poultry, and bees were given as further rewards. A typical member, Tudor Stanciu, received approximately 9,000 kilograms of grain as reward for his work.

A Scanteia article on 5 February described the better life of peasants in a collective. On 6 February, the happy life of the Timpuri Noi collective in Belitori was described. On 7 February, Scanteia reported that all members of the Filimon Sarbu collective in Calarasii Vechi had their own homes. On 9 February, Scanteia published a discussion of a conference of the Dolj Regional Party Committee for the formation of new collectives. The attractions of collective life were described. The income of a collectivist in Bailesti was 1,730 kilograms of wheat, 1,995 kilograms of corn, 160 kilograms of sunflower seed, 852 kilograms of potatoes, 150 kilograms of barley, 142 kilograms of oats, 200 kilograms of onions, other commodities, and money, all in return for 266 workdays.

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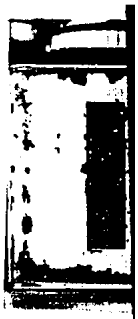

Another attraction of collectives, described on 10 February, was the rapid and easy repair of damaged or broken equipment. A second article of the same day reported that eight collectives in Galati Rayon "brought joy into the hearts of town and city dwellers" by bringing agricultural products into Galati. Collectives from Pechea brought 5,000 kilograms of wheat, 400 geese, and many other items.

On 17 February, Scanteia reported that the peasants of Caracal were taken on visits to collectives to impress them with the high standard of living. The visitors noted that many collectivists sold part of their production for shoes, a radio, or building materials.

On 20 February, Scanteia discussed the attractions of a successful TOZ in Martacesti. The members found that they could obtain a much higher yield than under individual operation. Constantin Musat, for example, formerly produced 800 kilograms of wheat or 600 kilograms of barley on an average per hectare. Gheorghe Pielelurga and Savu Chirac, medium peasants with 7 hectares of land, had achieved similar results. In 1951, poor and medium peasants not in the TOZ produced 900 kilograms of wheat and 450 kilograms of barley per hectare. The TOZ, however, produced much more.

On 21 February, Scanteia stated that peasants who worked the land in common obtained much richer harvests than individuals using old methods. For example, peasant Radu Olteanu of Viziru produced 1,800 kilograms of wheat per hectare with the aid of MTS tractors in 1951, while individual owner Dragomir Popa obtained only 550 using plow and oxen.

On 22 February, Scanteia presented an example of the rewards awaiting the peasant who joins a collective. Ion Grosu and his family of the Teleorman collective received, in fall 1951, more than 2,834 kilograms of wheat, 6,342 kilograms of corn, 437 kilograms of potatoes, and other products. Scanteia of 21 March stated that in 1951 peasants working fields in common in Foisoru, Craiova Rayon, averaged 2,000 kilograms of wheat, as compared to 1,000-1,100 kilograms per hectare by independent peasants.

On 2 March, as already mentioned, the formation of a new TOZ with 90 members in Tecuci was reported, while 245 other peasants favored joining a TOZ or forming a new one. The advantages of TOZ membership were illustrated by the fact that in 1951 Ilie Boerna achieved 1,400 kilograms of corn per hectare with the aid of the MTS, while independent peasant Constanta Dragnea produced 600 kilograms. A second article described a TOZ, formed with 65 hectares, in Patesti. Members achieved 1,500 kilograms of wheat per hectare, while independent peasants only produced 1,000 kilograms. By following party directives, they acquired 145 more hectares and achieved even better results with new methods.

On 23 March, Scanteia reported that in Braila a collective had achieved 1,100-1,200 kilograms of wheat per hectare. Members formerly produced only 700-800 with horse and plow. On 25 March, Scanteia described the campaign for the persuasion of peasants in Barlad Rayon. They were told that in 1951 more than 200 peasants in Crivesti formed a TOZ for common working of the land. They produced 1,200 kilograms of wheat per hectare, while peasants who did not join achieved only 600-800.

On 27 March, the newspaper reported that the poultry flock of the Filimon Sarbu collective in Cuza-Voda produced more than 100 eggs per day. Every week members came into town to sell agricultural products and thus supplied the workers.

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On 11 May Scanteia described the fine results obtained by a collective in Gradinari, which had achieved 2,300 kilograms of wheat and 2,500 kilograms of corn per hectare. Artificial pollination was used.

In Carlomanesti, according to a Scanteia article of 13 May, the Communist collectivists set an example of production after carrying on an intensive educational campaign. They produced, for example, 1,600 kilograms of wheat per hectare, or double that of individual peasants. Collectives in Sarbi harvested 1,000 kilograms of corn more than individual peasants. The publication of these figures led to the request by 309 peasants of the rayon for new collectives.

Additional data on yields per hectare achieved by collectives, TOZ, and individuals, as presented by E. Jiano in Probleme Economice of April 1952, is given below.

	Yield in 1950 (kg/ha)			Yield in 1951 (kg/ha)		
	Individual(s)	TOZ	Collectives	Individual(s)	TOZ	Collectives
Mires, Buzau Region						
Wheat	--	--	--	--	--	1,400
Galati Region						
Wheat	458	546	646	863	1,076	1,223
Corn	536	779	932	213	337	584
Rye	300	610	339	281	691	720
Barley	191	291	534	634	768	904
Oats	55	308	330	359	584	767

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